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Vol. VI. JULY, 1915 No. 7

The Woman Voter

- THE EVENING SUN -

1776—1915

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Manuscripts must not exceed 1,200 words.

Write on one side of the paper. Address Campaign Contest, "The Woman Voter," 48 East 34th Street, New York City. Contest closes July 18th. Prize winning statement will be published in "The Woman Voter."

THE WOMAN VOTER

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THE WOMAN VOTER

48 East 34th Street **New York City**

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ELSIE ROLLINS, Business Manager

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THE WOMAN SUFFRAGE PARTY

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THE Woman Suffrage Party of Greater New York is organized to win votes for women in 1915.

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Remember Our Advertisers Are Helping in Our Cause. Let's Reciprocate.

Frederic W. Freeman.

THE WOMAN VOTER

JULY, 1915

GOVERNMENT BY THE PEOPLE

GERTRUDE FOSTER BROWN

THE movement to include women as part of a Sovereign People began in New York State nearly seventy years ago.

When our forefathers dreamed of a government that should not be for the benefit of any one man or class of men, they founded better than they knew. They established the principle, "Governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed," they proclaimed "Equal rights and opportunities for all men;" they set as the keystone of American liberty "Taxation Without Representation Is Tyranny."

They began their constitution "We, the people of the United States," but for fifty years, only a small group of men, those who owned land, were allowed to vote. In 1826 this land qualification was removed and the word people was made to include all white males (aliens had been given the franchise for themselves and their descendants earlier). Later on Indian tribes were included, and still later the negroes.

While New York State women have been working in vain to be included in the Sovereign People, they have seen all males without regard to race, creed or color admitted to the electorate. They have seen the principle of democracy, for which they were working, accepted in other places until it was established in twelve States, one-half of the total area of the United States, and in many other countries, but still not one New York State woman has ever been enfranchised.

In spite of the fact that women here are still forbidden the ballot, it is usually said when a question is to be voted on, that it is submitted to the "People" of the State for their decision. Every 4th of July orator, every politician, every newspaper uses the word constantly when only men are meant.

ARE *women people?* That is—are they one-half of the human race, equally responsible with men, sharing the burdens of life with men, subject to the same fundamental laws, or are they only a sex to be set apart, exempt, created for only one object in life, with no other work in the world, a failure if they do not accomplish that mission, and always to be dependent on the other half of the race for justice?

Are women People? On your answer to this question is determined whether you are a suffragist or not.

If women are only a sex, then, indeed, they should be set apart, exempt from the other burdens of life, segregated and protected so as to best fulfill their mission in life.

Are women exempt? *Can* they be exempt from anything that affects men? The woman toiling at the machine in the factory, within a few hours of childbearing; the woman on her knees, cleaning up the dirt left by men, scrubbing the office building in the evening after man's work is done, in order that she may support her babies, when she ought to be at home putting those babies to bed; the girl in the street, offering her own pitiful soul and body to the lust of men; the women of an entire nation, homeless, bereft of family, husbands and sons killed, daughters outraged, the whole civilization of the world which they have helped upbuild, gone—are they exempt?

With the best intentions in the world, can men protect women, or must they suffer and rejoice together, rise and fall together, each dependent on the other, supplementing each other, and equally responsible?

IF women *are* People, and we are to have a government of the People, for and by the People, how can it be justified that one-half the People are forbidden by law any part in that government?

In a republic the ballot box is the only direct way of expressing the sovereignty of the People. Since women are forbidden this expression, when one speaks of a question being submitted to the People they must mean that the sovereignty of women is expressed in some other indirect way,—in other words, that women are represented by men. Is this true? Can men represent women? If every woman were married and her interests were identical with her husband's, if he had no interests but hers and she had no interest but his, and if he had no other woman in his family to repre-

sent, it might be possible to say that women are represented by men, but everyone knows that this is not true.

In point of number it is impossible. In New York State in 1910 there were 1,168,000 married women over 21 years of age, and 1,086,000 unmarried or widowed. Moreover, women have specific interests which men do not share to the same degree, and men have interests of their own which women do not fully share and know little about. For example: Women as a whole, care more about babies than men do—not abstractly, but passionately. When a man thinks about a child at work, he may think of dividends, how much the business can afford; when the woman thinks of it, she jumps at the conclusion that the child is worth more than any business. On this point their interests may be absolutely opposed, but in the government that decides these things, only one side is directly represented, and men are supposed to represent both sides.

It is impossible that the same lawyer should represent both the plaintiff and the defendant. Justice is not obtained that way. Suppose the tables were turned! Would men be content to leave all their interests to women to represent?

The opponents of suffrage often say that women are represented now because they are the moulders of public opinion; that government and law are responsive to public opinion more than to votes, and that women, even more than men, shape public opinion.

Is this true? Do women shape public opinion more than men do? Perhaps the most powerful influence of this kind in the world is the press. Newspapers and periodicals of all kinds are in the hands of men. Men control the business and the editorial policy of at least 99 per cent. of the press. What influence has woman to compare with this? But if it were true that women have more power than men to shape public opinion, then above all things they should be made to accept the responsibility for that power. Power without responsibility is a dangerous thing, especially power in the hands of a class too busy, too weak, too ignorant, too emotional to be given the ballot.

In all that concerns the business of life, women *are* people. They carry the burden of life equally with men; they are obliged to work in order to live; they are taxed as men are taxed; they are responsible to the law as men are. In a government of the People, for and by the People, women *are* People and must be free to share both the power and the responsibility with men.

VICTORY 1915

DEMOCRACY IN DENMARK

THE women of Denmark have won a great victory. On June 5th, Danish Independence Day, King Christian signed the new Constitution, which granted equal suffrage to 1,419,176 women and strengthened the democracy by abolishing certain special electoral privileges exercised by the wealthier classes.

In 1907 Danish women were given the right to vote for and serve on boards of public charities. Municipal suffrage for tax-paying women and wives of men who paid taxes was granted in 1908. Women have used their political privilges, having voted in large numbers. In 1913 thirteen women were elected to the Council of Copenhagen, and one woman served as Vice-President of the Council.

For the last six years Danish women have struggled for the parliamentary franchise. The Lower House twice passed a bill to extend full suffrage, but it was blocked by the conservatives of the Upper House. Under the new Constitution women will have full citizenship with equal electoral rights and eligibility.

IN order to meet the Conservative Party half way, the new bill also includes an election law added to the Constitution under a system which Madame Munch calls "characteristically Danish." By this system, neither men nor women can vote for the Upper House under 35 years of age.

In explanation of this singular age limit, Mrs. Catt, Chairman of the Empire State Campaign Committee, and President of the International Suffrage Alliance, recalled the fact that the voting age for Icelandic women, whose bill for equal franchise was signed by the Danish King last winter, was fixed at 40 years, although Icelandic men may vote at twenty-five. By a sliding scale women of Iceland will come to vote at twenty-five. A curious part of the Danish bill which demands that only men and women of 35 may vote for the Upper House, permits both sexes to be eligible for election at 25 years. That is, a man may be elected to the Upper House ten years earlier than he may vote for himself for it.

In order to avert a general election under the high tension of the present war situation, it is proposed that the first election under the new Constitution shall be postponed until the end of the war, or until 1916. The compromise concerning the electional system of voting was proposed by the Conservatives and acquiesced in by both Radicals and Social Democrats.

The law further provides that men and women are both to be 29 years of age before casting their first vote. In 1920 the voting age will be reduced to 28; in 1924 to 27, and in 1928 to 26. After this, the electoral age will remain stationary, at 25.

DENMARK stands high among the nations for its educational system. For generations, education has been compulsory. According to a recent report of the United States Bureau of Education, only one person in every thousand in Denmark is unable to read and write, as compared with seven out of every thousand in the United States.

The people are so imbued with the value of education, it is further stated, that they will go to any extremity to keep their children in school. Of 260,000 Danish children of school age, only 370 failed to attend school in 1911.

One way to avoid the danger of the "ignorant" vote, so widely feared by Anti-suffragists, is to establish such a system of education that there will be no ignorant vote. All great democratic countries are striving to develop their electorates by adding intelligent citizens, rather than by limiting education and restricting the franchise.

THE victory in Denmark marks the triumph of equal suffrage in Scandinavian countries. Women now vote in Norway, Sweden, Finland and Iceland. Commenting on this new suffrage triumph, the "New York Tribune" said:

"Woman suffrage in Europe has not yet strayed far from the Baltic. Its propagandists in some of the less democratic countries have to face social, political and religious obstacles which make even the campaign in sophisticated New York State seem easy. Nevertheless, the demand for political equality with men has

been voiced from England across to Russia. That issue, along with so many others, has bowed before the supreme issue in the war countries, yet women there are proving their political and economic value in so many ways that it is bound to come up with redoubled force once the great conflict is settled."

MACABEES FOR SUFFRAGE

WOMEN from every State in the Union, representing the 187,000 members of the Women's Benefit Association of the Macabees, passed a resolution for woman suffrage at their recent convention, in New York.

This association of women is one of the strongest benefit organizations in the United States. It has a capital of more than $9,000,000, handles about $2,000,000 a year, and has already paid $12,000,000 in benefits. It was organized twenty-three years ago by Miss Bina West, its present head, to provide a children's benefit in case of the mother's death.

Other great organizations of women who have voiced their desire to vote are: The International Council of Women, representing 7,000,000 women; the National Federation of Women's Clubs, representing over 1,600,000 women; every State Federation of Women's Clubs, where women vote, and many where they do not vote; National Women's Trade Union League, representing twenty-two leagues in thirteen different States, and the International Council of Nurses, representing nine countries.

Organizations composed of both men and women, such as the National Grange, the National Purity Conference, and the National Education Association, have also endorsed woman suffrage.

ORGANIZED LABOR FOR SUFFRAGE

The ballot for the working woman was the keynote of the biennial convention of the National Women's Trade Union League, held in New York early in June.

At the great mass-meeting in Cooper Union, City Chamberlain Henry Bruere, welcomed the women to the city and made special reference to the enfranchisement of women.

"It is not understandable to me," he said, "that there should be any wish to postpone the entrance of women into political life. We cannot afford not to have the full power that is at our command."

Samuel Gompers, who was introduced by Miss Melinda Scott, president of the New York Women's Trade Union League as a man who really believed that women knew how to govern themselves and their organizations, began his address with "Fellow citizens and prospective citizens," and said, with regard to woman suffrage:

"In the innermost recesses of their minds most people believe that women are going to get the vote. If it is right, it should go through at once, to get it out of the way as soon as possible so that we can get at other questions..

"I view woman suffrage from the practical side. It is a matter of common justice. If it is an objection that women know little of the value of the vote, I can point to millions of men who know nothing of its value. I also make this plea to you present: On election day, when the question of a Constitutional amendment for suffrage comes up, vote the ballot 'Yes'."

Meyer London was also a stanch advocate of Votes for Women.

"No matter how much politicians may scheme, the women will get the vote," was one of his remarks, which was roundly applauded. "And when you do get the vote you will wipe out false politicians."

METROPOLITAN MOVIES.

—The New York World.

"How many votes have you in the house?"
"One—we're going to have five, however!"

In her annual address as National President, Mrs. Raymond Robins said:

"Since 1903, from the beginning of its organization, the National Women's Trade Union League of America has stood for full citizenship for women, and early in its history the American Federation of Labor declared in favor of political equality for women. This is natural, for the workers who are trying to better the conditions for the men and women, for the boys and girls, for the little children in the labor world, know that the industrial question is going to be fought out in the field of politics. The question of hours of work, of sanitation, of fire protection, the police power used in times of strike against the workers, the hiring of private police, the issuing of injunctions, the decisions of courts, all these represent questions of government.

"There are two great exploited groups of labor in America today—the immigrant group and the women's group. Let us go into any industrial city of America and there look for the most exploited group of workers, and where do we go? Into the foreign centers of the city. Only the immigrant can compete in the low wage with American women. Is there any relationship to be found in the fact that both the immigrant and the women are disenfranchised?

"Wherever the industrial struggle has been keenest and wherever there has taken place an assault upon the fundamental principles of our government and the charter liberties of the people, there we find that the workers in overwhelming numbers represent foreigners who are not citizens. It is dangerous to any government, and especially is this true of a democracy, to have any group of people living within its borders outside of the responsibilities and duties of citizenship."

VOICELESS REPRESENTATION

EVERY celebration in the name of Liberty acts on suffragists as a reminder that women are still barred from political liberty. When it was announced that Magna Charta Day was to be observed by the Constitutional Convention, on June 15th, the following letter was sent to its president, the Honorable Elihu Root:

"The women of this State, who for the past seventy years have struggled for their freedom and who now see the longed-for goal within reach, desire to join with you in the celebration of Magna Charta Day. We who so long have stood outside the pale of individual liberty realize more vividly what the signing of that great document meant to the human race than can those who have been born free.

"You members of the Constitutional Convention stand as the representatives of the men of this State, we of the Empire State Campaign Committee are the chosen representatives of the women of our Commonwealth. We, therefore, pray that you will permit us to join with you in the celebration of the most far-reaching event of English history. We ask that you will grant to us a place on your program for a speaker to represent the womanhood of the State."

The women of the Empire State Campaign Committee who asked for the privilege of sending a speaker to this 700th anniversary celebration of Magna Charta, were permitted a small committee to represent them there, but no speaker. Four leading women suffragists took this opportunity to be present and hear the speeches made by men. They did not sit upon the platform. They occupied seats on the floor. They heard William D. Guthrie, discussing the Great Charter in its relations to American institutions today, recall how "two hundred and eighteen years ago the Royal Governor of New York * * * exclaimed to the Legislature of the colony: 'There are none of you but are big with the privileges of Magna Charta'." Mr. Guthrie continued with this question: "And today, Mr. President, can it not be said with equal force and pride, that there are no Americans but are big with the privileges of Magna Charta?"

There are in the United States today 20,891,310 women over 21 years of age, who have no voice in the government of the United States. There are 9,700,978 who have no voice in State, county or municipal government, who cannot vote for the boards that control their children during school hours, nor for the uses to which their own taxes are put.

SIDELIGHTS ON 1915

THAT women were mentioned at all in Magna Charta argues somethings, at least, in their favor. But the document granted by King John, at Runnymede in 1215, will scarcely be hailed by women as a charter of their rights. The three clauses which concern women are as follows:

[VII.] A widow, after the death of her husband, shall immediately, and without difficulty, have her marriage and her inheritance; nor shall she give anything for her dower, or for her marriage, or for her inheritance, which her husband and she held at the day of his death; and she may remain in her husband's house forty days after his death, within which time her dower shall be assigned.

[VIII.] No widow shall be distrained to marry herself, while she is willing to live without a husband: but yet she shall give security that she will not marry herself without our consent, if she hold of us, or without the consent of the lord of whom she does hold, if she hold of another.

[LIV.] No man shall be apprehended or imprisoned on the appeal of a woman, for the death of any other man than her husband.

ALIENS ALL

THIRTY women, graduates of American colleges, wearing the academic cap and gown and yellow Votes for Women sashes, sat silently in the Naturalization branch of the United States District Court, on June 8th, while foreign-born men were given full citizenship.

The demonstration was led by Mrs. Charles L. Tiffany, of the Collegiate Equal Suffrage League. With her were business women, professional women and home-makers, some having been in college classes of a number of years ago, others having been graduated recently from Wellesley, Barnard, Vassar, Bryn Mawr, Radcliffe and the Universities of Chicago, Boston and New York.

The protest, as the woman viewed it, was not against the fact that comparatively uneducated men of foreign birth should be permitted the rights of American citizenship, but that women, no matter what their station in life, were excluded.

"We women are standing here today for complete democracy," said Mrs. Tiffany, before entering the court. "We come to protest by our presence against the exclusion of the 1,000,000 native-born women of this State from the franchise.

The fifty-two applicants included Austrians, Germans, Italians, Frenchmen, Jews, Englishmen, Britons and Scandinavians.

Thirty-six out of fifty-two applicants were granted their citizenship papers, and thirty-three of these became voters. It took a little more than two hours to put the fifty-two applicants through the test and weed out the unfit.

Recalling the fact that women's campaign for citizenship has been in progress for the last sixty-eight years, one woman remarked after the demonstration.

"Less than three minutes to make a man a citizen, and he a foreigner, while we women, whose fathers fought and bled and died for the United States, work years in vain and must plead to this foreigner to grant us a voice in our own country. Could anything be more desperately unfair and humiliating?"

"And yet," said another, "we do not make this protest to imply that we object to the naturalization of the foreign-born. We are only insisting that native-born women and foreign-born women shall have the same privilege as foreign-born men."

One of the naturalized men, an Austrian, at first did not understand what the black-gowned women were doing. When it was explained to him he nodded.

"Ya, ya," he said. "I vote now, I help the suffrages all I can."

The women's silent protest was not only impressive, but seems to have been oppressive to some of the men present. "That gets on my nerves," remarked Fred Taylor, one of the court attendants. "I feel as if I wanted to go out in the street and shout. I never believed in suffrage before, but the contrast here has won me."

At the end of the session, the women rose as silently as they had entered and left the court-room. "No more convincing argument for votes for Women could be devised," remarked the "New York Sun" editorially, on the following morning, "than those which were presented in Judge Augustus N. Hand's court by thirty advocates of the extension of the suffrage."

WHEN anyone asks whether I believe in woman suffrage I tell them what the darky said about Infant Baptism: "'Cose I believes in it—I done seen it."

No use disputing about debt, the Sheriff is at the door with a writ. The only thing now is to make sure that women will at least try to get to the root of serious matters like disemployment instead of peddling with "remedies," such as more State employment agencies that are not intended to remedy but to palliate or conceal the writ.

BOLTON HALL

MUTELY PROTESTING FOR THE RIGHT TO VOTE

Snapshot by an Evening Sun Photographer.

A few of the thirty members of the College Women's Suffrage League who sat silent in court while aliens were made citizens—Mrs. Charles L. Tiffany, president of the league, is at the right of the picture—Mrs. Francis E. Brewer, the vice-president, is the second from the left—Behind and to the right of Mrs. Brewer is Miss Elinor Byrns.

A COLLEGE WOMAN TO OUR ALIEN CITIZENS

(Thoughts in a Naturalization Court)

They know not our hopes and our fears,
  They know not the laws of our land,
Our language is strange in their ears,
  And their oath is an upraised hand;
But at least they are warm in their plea,
  At least they have longed and prepared,
At least they desire to be free,
    At least they have cared.

O Yosef, Pietro, or Yan,
  O Yinsky, or Yonsky, or Shea,
Our country will ask you—a man—
  May American women be free?
Recall, on that day, how like you
  We women have struggled and cared;
O sovereigns, O masters, you, too,
    Once strove and despaired!

PEARLS FROM THE BENCH

It must have seemed curious to the aliens applying for naturalization to discover that the judge who decided their fate was himself indifferent to his enfranchisement.

He is reported to have said: "I don't value my own vote enough to understand why women should be so anxious for the ballot."

Perhaps the judge meant to stop his sentence after the word "enough."

"I should be quite willing to give up my vote if I could be represented by others of my class, understanding my needs."

The judge would not wish to choose those others?"

"If all the women want to vote they ought to have the right. But all of them don't."

If the right to life were dependent on everybody's wanting it, we should all lose it when one person committed suicide.

ALICE DUER MILLER

It is a fundamental concept of democracy that the governed have an inalienable right to a voice in the government. Therefore, democratic America must enfranchise her women.

JAMES H. ECOB

Taxation Without Representation

The Spirit of 1915!

WOMEN AND TAXES

WHEN the women of Michigan discovered that 102,-302 women of that State, out of 786,033 females of voting age, paid $3,856,749.71 on an assessment of $177,586,938.00, they put out a little hand-bill making public this fact and asking, "What about the Boston Tea Party?"

In 1913, 30,433 women and 55,219 men in the United States paid a Federal income tax. Of these thirty thousand and odd women only 4,973 live in States where women have any voice whatever in Federal affairs.

The analyzed tax-budget of New York City gives this proportional list of what is done each year with every $100 worth of taxes: $22.01—the second largest sum of all—is for education. This is a matter upon which women of New York City may not vote, but which they may help to support—by their taxes. The next largest sum is for protection of life and property, $15.85. The mothers of the East Side, where the "Rippers" are abroad, have found this question of vital interest to women. They may have a part in it—the part of paying their taxes. The third is for judicial purposes, $5.02. This supports courts, criminal and civil, for the upholding of the laws—which men make. Still, the women may help—by paying their taxes. The fourth item is one to which women are practically more devoted than men; yet even concerning charities women have a voice only through their taxes. The fifth is for the maintenance of prisons, which enclose many more men than women.

The city debt—incurred by men voters—is the largest item of all, $31.02. This also the women may help to pay, but not to incur.

The election cost for the State of New York last November, was $4,079,171.42. Of this, 70 per cent. is borne by New York City. Here, too, women may help—by paying their share of the 70 per cent.

THE PIVOTAL QUESTION

Said Joe to Sam in fierce debate,
  Upon the woman question,
"You've answered well all other points,
  Now here's my last suggestion:
When woman goes to cast her vote—
  Some miles away, it may be—
Who, then, I ask, will stay at home
  To rock and tend the baby?"

Said Sam, "I own you've made my case
  Appear a little breezy.
Suppose you put this question by,
  And ask me something easy!
Yet, since the matter seems to turn
  On this as on its axis,
Just get the one who rocked it when
  She went to pay her taxes!"

—*New York Call.*

OUR TAX COMMISSIONERS

COMMISSIONER LAWSON PURDY

I expect to vote for woman suffrage.

COMMISSIONER GEORGE V. MULLAN

I am in favor of woman suffrage and intend to vote for it as a matter of principle. I have never heard any good reason against it.

COMMISSIONER FREDERICK B. SHIPLEY

I have been for suffrage for women for twenty years, ever since I thought about the question at all. I will vote for the amendment in 1915. It is not my experience in the Tax Assessor's Board in knowing the large sums of taxes paid by women to the public funds which makes me a suffragist, but because I believe the vote is the right of a woman or a man as a citizen, not as a property holder.

COMMISSIONER JOHN J. HALLERAN

I am very much in favor of suffrage. I believe that if immigrants who reside in this country for five years may have a voice in its government that American-born women, who have lived in their own land for twenty-one years, should not be excluded. I would like to see a residence of twenty-one years in America a requirement for voting for all persons, men and women. Certainly women taxpayers should have the right to vote. I will vote for the amendment in 1915 and work for it, and I expect that it will win.

COMMISSIONER CHARLES T. WHITE

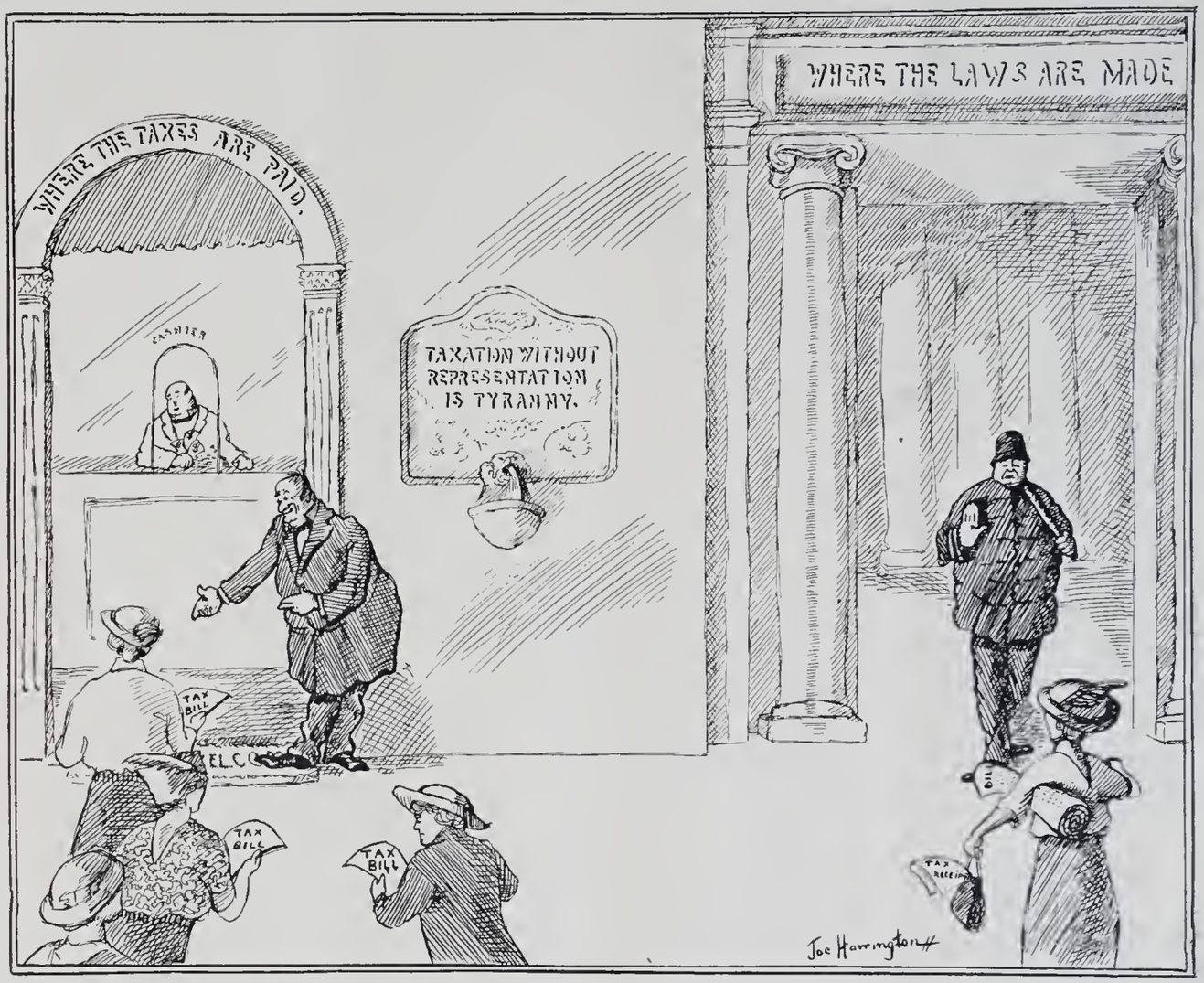
The broad question of woman suffrage on a basis of equality with men should be submitted to the voters of the State as soon as practicable.

As a Tax Commissioner I have been impressed with the fact that thousands of intelligent women pay both personal and realty taxes in this city. If they demand it, they ought to have the electing franchise, the same as the men, so that their opinions may have weight at the polls.

From an editorial in the Livingston Manor Times, of June 10th, is taken this statement: "Over 100,000 widows and orphans Up-State, above the Bronx, own the little home. Sometimes it has a mortgage; again it is clear. But all of these are to be taxed without representation this year at the rate of $1.70 for each thousand dollars of valuation on the assessment rolls. When the G. O. P. politicians in Philadelphia, Pa., assessed the women school teachers for campaign purposes a mighty protest went up from all over the United States. New York must bow her head in shame at a legalized proceeding much more disgraceful. Needless, useless, extravagant and cruel taxation of defenseless widows and orphans without either excuse or apology."

SOMEWHAT DIFFERENT

TAX DAY ELECTION DAY



THE TAX PROTEST

ETHEL EAMES SANDERSON

IT frequently happens that women who have not been appealed to by any other argument for woman suffrage are roused by the reminder that they pay taxes without representation. This is a line of reasoning which generally can be used successfully with women of means, who have perhaps never felt the call to take up the cudgels to help right the wrongs of the working woman or to help the tenement house mother protect herself.

Is it right or just that a woman contributing to the Federal, State or City Exchequer should have no voice in the expenditure of the money? The "Woman's Journal" this winter published a form to be cut out and attached by women tax-payers, to their Income Tax declarations. It read something like this:

"This tax is paid under protest by a woman tax-payer, who is a non-voter. If the government taxes women it should give them the vote."

It would be well if all suffragists would send some such protests with all their tax payments. When suffrage workers who are seeking to make converts, find wealthy women who have not heretofore been interested in the cause, let them face them with this argument. There is no answer to it.

It is sometimes said that women should not have the added burden of the responsibility of the vote thrust on them. Why then should they have the burden of taxation thrust on them? It is surely heavier and less stimulating.

CITIZENS IN NAME ONLY

KATHERINE BELL LEWIS

A suffragist for fifty years, I am very much pleased to be invited to say a few words on the argument of "Taxation and Representation." I must be personal in my remarks. I pay a war tax, an income tax, a county tax and a very large city tax for the privilege of living in New York State without any representation. Reading the Constitution of the United States the first article is strong "in all the people," etc. Now I consider myself one of the loyal, patriotic people in this country, but according to the present law I am not one of the people, I am not a citizen, except in name, and I have no representation. I like the old expression: "Taxation Without Representation Is Tyranny." Our forefathers and foremothers fought against "Taxation Without Representation." Sex should never prevent women from justice. At the election in New York State, November 2, 1915, we expect every voter to do his duty and enfranchise every woman on the same basis as every man is now enfranchised.

A WOMAN TAX-PAYER

IN the course of the development of our great, rich country many fortunes have been amassed. As many important business men have testified, the co-operation and the care of the wife in early days have helped to lay the foundation of such fortunes, and her advice has been sought all the way through the development of the business.

Today a number of American women find themselves responsible for the administration and the dispensation of fortunes, which are an important trust. The duties and responsibilities thus devolving upon women are just as great as the corresponding duties devolving upon men, but how marked is the difference in their position. The man has a voice in the government for which such fortunes are taxed. He frequently has a voice in the conditions which control the financial course of events. There are a thousand ways in which the woman tax-payer, locally and in general, feels the necessity for a voice in the governmental affairs, but excepting in the twelve suffrage States and a few towns and cities, which have granted school and tax-paying suffrage, she has no share in deciding matters which affect her vitally.

Mrs. Russell Sage, one of the largest tax-payers in the State of New York, whose fortune numbers into millions of dollars, has for many years been a stanch advocate of woman suffrage. Not only has she expressed her deep conviction of the justice of woman suffrage, and her belief that votes for women will materially aid women of large financial responsibilities, but she has expressed this conviction in deeds.

Ever since the beginning of the Woman Suffrage Party she has been one of its steady contributors. She has never failed to give it her financial support. Although she has not held office in the organization, she has watched its development with greatest interest, and has shown her belief in woman suffrage throughout this campaign, by giving generously of her wealth.

THE OLD SLOGAN—ANEW

LUELLA G. GEAR

SINCE government broke away from absolute monarchy, the power of land ownership has been so well established in people's consciousness, that no one needs to bolster up the argument to make it a vital reason for representation.

In the United States the rights of property have always been understood, even by the simplest folk. It was at first the only excuse for franchise power. "Taxation Without Representation Is Tyranny," was the torch that lighted the flame of the rebellion that burned away the strong ropes of fealty to "King and Country" in 1776, and ought now to be sufficient slogan for another "burning away of ropes" which tie down that old superstition, that title in property is held by force of a strong, right arm, and that the female members of the family are chattels held in the same manner.

Every man admits that a tax-payer should have the right of franchise and if all women had title in land, *i. e.,* paid direct tax to the Government, only one organized request for the vote would be necessary, but we face the situation of asking equal power for the indirect tax-paying housewife and worker.

Therefore, our cry of "Taxation Without Representation Is Tyranny," is mixed with other equally good reasons for votes, and instead of one clear, clarion note in our suffrage song, we have, let us call it—a symphony, strong and melodious, and so powerful, let us hope, that it will shake down the walls of every man's prejudice. I repeat, "Taxation Without Representation Is Tyranny."

WOMAN AND TAXATION

EMMA J. CARR

THE woman tax-payer is unable to understand why a hundred dollars paid by her to help support the government, does not insure her the same privileges as the man who pays the same amount.

According to Webster,—A citizen is a person, native or naturalized, of either sex, entitled to the city's franchises and the privilege of voting for public officers. Women obey the laws and pay taxes and naturally they consider themselves good citizens, and why not? Could we find a better definition?

Does the vote protect the rights of the citizen? Let us see:

Mrs. X, a widow, owns a small cottage next door to a corner house four times its size.

She is taxed one-third more than the owner of the corner house. No explanation is given the widow, why she is obliged to pay so much more than the man. No satisfaction can be obtained from the tax office, and so the widow continues to pay the tax, which she feels is unjust.

Of course the city needs all the money that is paid into the treasury, but one can readily see that a vote in her hand would make a difference.

THE VOTE AND PUBLIC FUNDS

MARGARET CHANLER ALDRICH

I HAVE been a suffragist ever since I became a tax-payer. Lately I have come to see that the power dishonest persons exert over our public moneys, is largely due to the enormous body of tax-payers, who, having no vote, cannot nominate or elect honest and able minds for our public trusts.

The personal injustice to me while I may not vote, sinks into insignificance beside the fact that I am a public menace because my existence makes it easier for a thief to hold office, or manipulate those who do. Where women are to be reckoned with as direct factors, they demand minute, clear accounting, with commensurate discussion and publicity.

The average woman does not handle large moneys, and is easily put off by being told that finance is beyond her. Although her taxes are not generally large, she can understand where every dollar is going because she understands all the vast missionary enterprises which are, like taxes, patient accumulations of small amounts from both men and women, but notice this difference: In every instance the women contributors VOTE ON EACH APPROPRIATION.

A STATEN ISLAND TAX-PAYER

THE property on which I live and on which I pay taxes was bought by my parents with my mother's money, sixty-seven years ago.

My mother's interest in Staten Island was as great as any man's, and her public spirit as active and as keen, yet in those days this property was not hers before the law, because she was married.

Today I pay taxes, yet I have no voice in their expenditure, however much I may object to the way in which they are used. Taxes on Staten Island are high and some tax-paying women have lost their property in consequence, without having the right to express their opinions of those public improvements which have necessitated these high assessments.

MARY OTIS WILLCOX

If somebody asked me why I believed in geometry, or sunlight, or literature, or papercutters, I'd have just as much trouble finding an answer.

FRANKLIN P. ADAMS

HOW I PAY TAXES IN NEW YORK

FLORENCE HOWE HALL

NEW YORK CITY sends out no tax bills to the owner of real estate. The unfortunate man or woman must apply at the Tax Office in person, or write a letter, giving the location of the property and the correct block and lot numbers. He must also enclose a stamp for reply. I say "the unfortunate," because the taxes on real estate are very high in the metropolis. Often they rate the property at a considerably higher value than it would sell for. I now send the check for my tax bill by mail. But in the past I have called and paid it in person. I was treated with politeness and found nothing to complain of beyond the fact that I was and still am a subject of "Taxation Without Representation."

The various departments of the city take a deep interest in our property, judging by the communications we receive from them.

"A fire escape must be put up within ——— days." (Cost, $200!)

"In order to widen the sidewalk, your area railing must be withdrawn so many feet." (Cost, $60, or thereabout.)

"The Board of Health orders that a ventilating shaft be placed in the bath-room, and connected with the roof." (Say $50.00 cost.)

"The Board of Fire Underwriters have decided that the furnace pipes in the cellar must all have tin shields placed above them—the smoke-pipe must be changed to the other chimney, etc., etc." The summons always orders you to do these things at once,—with vague threats of the results of disobedience.

Taking one thing with another, the lot of the New York tax-payer is not a happy one.

INCONSISTENCY

THIS question of taxation without representation is just another one of the anomalies and inconsistencies in the unenfranchised American woman's position. The laboring woman, the business woman, the woman of affairs, is caught in a net-work of unequalities, injustices, and contraditions that do not hamper the man in a similar position. This condition pinches the laboring woman more sharply than it does the woman of property. But all women with a sense of dignity and responsibility are galled by it. We are neither out of power nor are we in power!

For instance, I may have a vote in the corporation in which I own stock, but concerning the road that semi-circles my mountain farm, I have no voice. I may, as I did in the Spring elections, stand in a polling booth and mark my ballot on several somewhat complicated propositions involving appropriations of money for which my town property is taxed, but I could not vote for any of the men who were to administer these appropriations.

HARRIET BURTON LAIDLAW

TAXES AND THE CITY BUDGET

It has been a satisfaction to me to pay taxes. I took a keen interest in the budget presented last month by Comptroller William A. Prendergast. Surely the woman who makes a weekly, monthly or yearly budget for her family and tries to have a wee bit in the contingency fund, is interested in the city budget. Give her the privilege of voting for the Comptroller and the City budget will be a subject for family conversation.

ISABEL G. BARKER

WOMAN'S RIGHT TO PAY TAXES

MRS. HENRY O. HAVEMEYER

I WANT suffrage politically, legally, civically and naturally.

I want it politically, because I have as much right to it as the first man that set foot on Plymouth Rock.

I want it legally because I believe that women should have a voice in the laws under which they live.

I want it civically because, after all, we women have a great task on our hands. We have to bring up the men and want them brought up under the right conditions.

I want it naturally, because I am a citizen of the United States.

Some men say they do not want to see women at the polls, but did you ever hear one say he did not want to see a woman pay taxes? Women have as much right to vote as they have to pay taxes.

JUSTICE FOR ALL

FANNIE GARRISON VILLARD

AS women have yet to secure their enfranchisement in many States of the Union, the approach of our national holiday—the Fourth of July—leads them once more to lift up their voices in protest against "Taxation Without Representation," and more determinedly than ever.

Can it be that what is tyranny for men is not tyranny for women?

Is it just to deny tax-paying women the right to say how their money shall be spent? And all women pay taxes in some form or other.

Must half of the human race be subject to the rule of the other half, and this under a democratic form of government?

Given the ballot as a weapon of defense against iniquitous conditions, in due time much can be accomplished. But the right to it is not dependent upon the use of it, only upon justice and the principles of liberty vouchsafed to men and women alike.

I never became a real suffragist until I had to pay an income tax. Then I felt the injustice of being expected to act like a citizen without being treated like one. In 1776 taxation without representation started a revolution. In 1913 it started another in me. No woman has to renounce home to be a suffragist. But many a home woman nowadays earns her living and is proud to do so. If her money is good enough for the State, so is her vote.

CRYSTAL HERNE

For so many years I have seen the public funds spent for unnecessary and extravagant projects, while there is only school accommodation for a part of the city's children at a time, that I should be glad of an opportunity to register my opinion on the expenditure of public moneys; especially as I have contributed to those funds for many years, in the form of a real estate tax.

MAY H. READ

DO YOU BELIEVE IN

TAXATION WITH REPRESENTATION?

Vote for Woman Suffrage

NOVEMBER 2nd, 1915

SUFFRAGE AND TAXES

ALICE STONE BLACKWELL

MOST of the objections to equal suffrage go to pieces when they are analyzed. For instance, it is often said that, if women are allowed to vote, it will increase taxes. Investigation shows, however, that the States having the highest tax-rate are all of them States where women do not vote.

Thus in Wisconsin, the tax rate per $1,000 is $11.80; in the District of Columbia, $15; in New Hampshire, $16; in Vermont, $18; in Missouri, $19; in Maine, $23.50, and in Minnesota, $27.74. In Washington, the suffrage State with the highest tax rate, it is only $8.07; in Colorado, $4.12: in Utah, $4; in Wyoming (after forty-six years of equal suffrage), $2.85; in Kansas, $1.20; in Oregon, $1.20; and in California, 39 cents (New York World Almanac for 1914, page 307).

The municipal tax rates likewise show that equal suffrage lays no especially heavy burdens on the taxpayer. In Denver, the tax rate is $1.19 for each $100 of assessed valuation; in Salt Lake and Spokane, $1.30; in San Diego, $1.50; in Los Angeles, $1.60; in Topeka, $1.72. In Boston it is $1.75; in New York City, $1.78; in Springfield, Mass., $1.65; in Haverhill, Mass., $1.86; in Holyoke and Newton, Mass., $1.88; in Patterson, N. J., $1.91; in Hoboken, N. J., $1.90; in Worcester, Mass., $1.96; in Rochester, N. Y., $1.97; in Lynn, Mass., $2.00; in Jersey City, N. J., $2.11; in Taunton, Mass., $2.12; in Cambridge, Mass., $2.14; in Lowell, Mass., $2.19. In San Francisco it is $2.23; in Fall River and New Bedford, Mass., $2.32; in Mt. Vernon, N. Y., $2.56; in Buffalo, N. Y., $2.60; in Elmira, N. Y., $2.86; in Charleston, S. C., $3.65; in Minneapolis, $3.57; in Duluth, $3.63; in Providence, R. I., $3.70. In Tacoma it is $4.03; in Seattle, $4.38, and in Chicago, $5.43; but in Omaha it is $5.83, and in Cleveland, $5.88. The highest tax rate in any city under equal suffrage is $6.17, in Quincy, Ill., and in Lincoln, Neb., where women do not vote, the rate reaches the surprising figure of $9.65 (New York World Almanac for 1914, pages 720-721).

It is said that equal suffrage will double the cost of election. The cost of elections is a very small fraction of any State's expenditure, and even if equal suffrage fully doubled it (which it does not), this would be only a trifling addition.

It is also said that equal suffrage will increase taxes because women will vote for mothers' pensions, improved school houses, more play-grounds, and the like. They maintain that these things will more than pay for themselves through the saving on hospitals and jails. As taxes in the suffrage States are not higher than taxes elsewhere, this would seem to be borne out by the facts.

The Woman's Journal.

Forty-eight per cent. of the shareholders of the Pennsylvania Railroad Company, the largest railroad in the world, are women. That astute corporation permits women to have the same voice in its affairs that men shareholders enjoy, and yet this corporation has not been driven into bankruptcy. Far from it! But still there are some persons who claim that woman suffrage would drive the Nation into bankruptcy!

During the next twenty years over $2,000,000,000 of life insurance money will be paid to women of the United States on politicies now in force. Men have learned to trust this fabulous sum of money to their wives, and men in all the States, sooner or later, will learn to trust the ballot to the women.

AS an instance of just what it means to be taxed without representation, take the case of certain citizens of Cortland, N. Y. The total assessed valuation of property in that city is $8,984,634. Of this, $1,844,910 is assessed to women. The total tax levy is $156,575. Of this, $34,684 is levied on 613 women. This does not include property assessed to husbands and wives, and brothers and sisters jointly. It merely refers to the amount of money paid by more than six hundred citizens, most of whom are presumably native-born white women, who pay their yearly toll for the city's needs without any voice in specifying those needs. There are 3,043 families in Cortland and the 613 women taxpayers—since these do not include any women who pay taxes in conjunction with their husbands and brothers—represent something like one-fifth of those families. These families go unrepresented in the government councils of Cortland. Just for argument's sake, suppose that this group of unrepresented citizens should have been selected on some other basis than sex. Suppose it had been Cortland's 696 native-born citizens of Irish parentage who were denied representation? Or, suppose its 657 foreign-born men of voting age were forbidden citizenship? Or, suppose that one-quarter of its 2,669 native white male citizens of native parentage were disfranchised? Wouldn't there be trouble!

Suffragists have found a champion in an unsuspected place,—namely, the Riggs National Bank of Washington. The Controller of the Currency, in his recent charges against that institution, cites the fact that it loaned money to women, as an illustration of its unsound banking policy.

In rebuttal the bank states: "The Controller does himself no credit by critizing this bank because it has loaned money to women, who, both in law and morals, have a right to transact their own business. Our women customers seldom request a loan without tendering ample collateral, and this bank is not only glad to accommodate them, but it cheerfully testifies that its losses on loans to women have been negligible."

THE WOMEN PEGGING AWAY

The women are pegging away for suffrage, and the war has helped rather than hurt their cause. The politicians are now thoroughly acquainted with the fact that suffrage is inevitable, and are guiding their shifting courses with one eye to the fact and the other to their constituencies. For it is a popular fallacy that the politician is about as forward, and no forwarder, than his constituency. He does not lead it—being a "leader," he follows.

(Pearson's for June.)

Woman suffrage in this country has been of a healthy growth. Every State will soon have it.

CHAUNCEY M. DEPEW

No man has a right to deny a woman her vote if she desires to use it, except the Creator Himself, who has given her this privilege.

She is a consumer, naturally through being a consumer she becomes an indirect taxpayer, which latter—according to the Constitution of this Union—entitles her to citizenship of the same Union, and a citizen is entitled to the vote in every case.

When Abraham Lincoln defined democracy he said, "I believe in a government by ALL the people, *barring none.*" I sincerely do hope that in 1915 the average vote of this State, when cast, will be a *clean sweep* for votes for women

ROMNOLDO BUFANO

Women and the New Age

(A speech given at the first suffrage dinner in Albany)

Walter Lippmann

THERE is no distinction that we Americans draw so easily or so carelessly as the distinction between a mere theorist and a practical person. The mere theorist, as I understand him, is a man who doesn't know the difference between what is possible and what is probable; he is a man who overestimates the power and accuracy of his ideas, and believes that something will happen because he thinks it. The ideal theorist was Jupiter, because Minerva sprang from his brow, full armed, full grown, and supplied, I presume, with an income adequate to a lady of her position.

We human beings don't dare to model ourselves on Jupiter. When we wish to accomplish something we have to face brute necessities and hard facts. In a great issue like that of woman's suffrage, we cannot take time to run after will-o'-the-wisps, to act on pleasant and uncritical fantasies. There's so much to do in the world that not many of us can afford to pursue the impossible.

I think that is why there are so few Antis. There are not many sensible people ready to devote their lives to fighting the inevitable. For if the Anti-suffragists had a real force behind them they would not disappear and become silent whenever women gain the vote in any particular State. If equal suffrage is as evil and dangerous as they say it is, why isn't there a persistent and powerful movement all through the West aiming to disfranchise women? If homes are crumbling, if women are unsexed, if the human race is in danger out there, why do the Antis fail in their patriotic duty? Why do they not redeem the Western States?

They don't, because they know that once the women have won the franchise, all their predictions, all the bogeys they've conjured up, melt away. Our victories are permanent, our defeats are temporary. But why are our victories permanent? Not every class once enfranchised is sure of its vote. The negroes in the South were enfranchised, but they lost their vote. The Mexicans are enfranchised, but they don't vote. The women of a modern American State, however, once they have gained the suffrage, never lose it again. They keep it because not enough people have the power or the desire to take it away.

So once the Antis have lost a State, they do not try to recover it. When the whole Union has equal suffrage, there will be no Antis to speak of. There will be a few like the old gentlemen who sit around their clubs and bewail democracy. But in the real life of the nation they will not count.

The time has come when we can afford to speak with assurance. We can feel certain now that no national administration will ever be elected on a platform of open opposition to votes for women. At least twenty-two Senators will never argue for disfranchising women. So far as a politician is concerned today, he can no longer aspire to national leadership if he is against votes for women. He has got to dodge the issue or conceal his opposition.

If the Antis wish, then, to act like practical people, what are they going to do with the situation? They know in their hearts that the number of people convinced is growing every day. They know that we get most of the active young people. They know that the freshness of life, the impulse to do and to make, is on our side. They know that there is precious little inspiration in being stubbornly against something. They know that in their households, in their own children, this movement is rising to confront them. They cannot in their sane moments treat us as hysterical fools. There are too many of us, of too many kinds.

—*Judge.*

NOT YET—BUT SOON.

Do they think they can argue us out of it? If they think they can, I for one admire their courage. But I don't trust their judgment. What is it that the Antis must do in order to kill our movement? Surely not just to talk, issue leaflets, give out interviews, lobby, debate. If they have any sense of reality, they have got to attack not the suffragists but the social forces which have made the suffrage movement.

LET us see what the Antis must do:

They must begin by closing down the universities. They must prevent women from reading the newspapers. They must establish a censorship of books and plays. They must restore spinning and weaving to the home. They must take women out of factories and shops and offices. They must root out all those sentiments of equality and independence which are the work of a century. They must recreate the illusion that men are so wise that women can only look up to them with awe. They must attack the educational system at its roots, and establish within it a discipline so rigorous that women will no longer be interested in the larger life of humanity. They must get rid somehow of that growing body of men who want their wives and their women friends to be their equal companions, to share their interests, to work in the same causes; who are not content to imagine themselves gallant heroes of fiction, to strut, to show off, to impose upon women with their masucline superiority.

It's a big program for the Antis. To carry it out they have got to undo the industrial revolution, reduce industry to what it was generations ago, extirpate the spread of scientific knowledge, re-establish the ideal of sweet incompetence, of lonely drudgery, the rule of thumb, and the reign of prejudice.

For it is these forces of a new time which prepare the soil of the suffrage movement. It is because all these changes have taken place that we are able to make converts. More people listen to us than listen to the Antis, because we talk to realities, and the Antis do not. We are preaching something that corresponds to the push and drive of the facts. That is why we are heard. Our success is not because we are particularly charming, but because we happen to be saying things which the situation of people to-day has made them want to hear.

IT seems to me that if I were against suffrage, this is what I should say to myself: The movement can't be stopped, the suffrage States will not revoke the granting of votes to women, the strength of the demand in the unequal suffrage States is bound to grow with industrial development, with the spread of enlightenment, with the rise of the new generation, and the gradual passing away of the old. What can't be stopped can be delayed. The progress can be slowed down by obstruction though it cannot be stopped entirely, or turned back upon itself.

While I as an Anti might say that to myself, I wouldn't say it out loud. No Anti dares to be so candid, for how would all the prophecies of perdition sound once you admitted that this great nation was going with determination to enfranchise its women? The Antis couldn't tell what they thought, if they thought straight. For unless they can delude themselves into believing that they are really going to prevent women from voting, their oposition would lose all hope, all force, and all interest. They don't dare, even in their own minds to face the fact that they are on the losing side. They have to believe the make-believe that a movement which has swept the West and reached over the Mississippi is going to yield now to their argument. It must take a lot of optimism to believe that, so much that it ought to be rewarded with an Iron Cross—of the second class.

A CERTAIN amount of delay and obstruction are possible. Are they desirable? Well, I am not one of those who expect big things immediately from the vote. I think men have shown that it takes a long time to learn how to vote skillfully. But obviously the only way to learn is to begin, and what I would like to urge is that never was there a better time to begin.

At this moment we are, as it were, held in suspense, aware that vast changes are brewing, that in the next decades we shall enter one of the most absorbingly interesting periods in the history of the world. The equilibrum of Europe is upset, and with it has come a deep sense among us that this nation has a new role to play. In the time just ahead of us we shall be readjusting ourselves to a world position, our isolation is over, we have to look across the Pacific, to the continent south of us, to Europe which always seemed so far away. Some great part we shall play, we as the most powerful democracy in the world, and I for one am not at all sure that we shall play the part nobly and with humanity. I know that all of us are poorly prepared for it, men as well as women, and that we have immense things to learn.

So I say to the Antis with all good humor and in all sincerity: Don't delay the time when women can begin to learn; don't absorb the energy of their natural leaders in a struggle for the inevitable. Release them and release yourselves for the greater task of using the vote well. Accept the fact, don't beat your heads against a stone wall. You will gain little by a few years' obstruction, and you will lose precious time, time that can be spent on the real work of citizenship.

What is true of our role in the world, is true also of affairs within the country. The intricate problems of business and labor, the making of finer cities and a more varied country life, the struggle against injustice, incompetence, corruption and stupidity, the invigorating of our political life, all that women must participate in sooner or later. Why not do what the West has done, call them in, make them accept the responsibility, make them face the difficulties, make them learn to create and to use the new social machinery which we are building.

WE are told that women should first become politically educated. How fit they should be we are not told. We are not told because no one knows, because there is no criterion. We say that real education cannot take place until there is responsibility, that the supreme political education is political power. The carpenter who had no tools would always be a poor carpenter. The chauffeur who never entered a motor car would never learn to drive.

Those psychological qualities which Antis make so much of, the tendency to judge from narrow, personal prejudice, the sentimentalism, the vagueness of thought, the indirection, can be educated away only by power and responsibility. The women who are now taking part in business, in social work, in professional life, are obviously a thousand times more competent to judge great questions than the women who have lived in comfortable houses, been coddled and had their thinking done for them by their husbands.

The women who are asking for the vote are not asking for some irresponsible liberty. They are asking for the privilege of sharing the immensely difficult business of making a democracy successful. They want work to do, a chance to use their faculties, the right to participate in the solution of the problems which affect all of us so intimately.

I repeat: all that the Antis can do is to obstruct and delay the time when the educating influence of responsibility can begin to be felt. All the success they can hope for is to keep women politically backward for a few years more, and to condemn active women for a little while longer to the dreary work of propaganda and the repetition of the obvious arguments and repartees.

That doesn't seem to us to be an intelligent aim for a serious person, and that is why we are so anxious to swing New York into the column of Equal Suffrage States. We want to get through the propaganda, so that we can go on to dealing with the problems of politics that lie beyond it. We lay great stress on New York. When it comes in, the back of the opposition will be broken. On this issue we are the keystone State, and a victory here will count more than any political triumph for a generation. It will give hope to believers in democracy the world over. It will be one of the proudest answers we could give to the despair and reaction of Europe. Every man and woman that participates in it will be remembered with gratitude.

PROGRESS AND PRECEDENT

A WOMAN lawyer has recently appealed to the Supreme Court of Georgia, one of the three remaining States which refuses to admit women to the bar, pleading for the right of admission to her profession.

In New York, where women have practiced law for some time, this seems to indicate that Georgia is a benighted State. Yet, only a short time ago, the Bar Association of New York was instrumental in defeating the bill introduced by the Women Lawyers' Association to provide for two women judges in the children's court.

The Carswell bill, opposed by the Bar Association, contemplated the creation of two women as "Assistants" or "Associate Judges" in the children's court. They

were to have the power of magistrates in all cases affecting girls arising under Section 486 of the Penal Law, and all cases of girls in danger of becoming morally depraved, and such other cases as the sitting justice might assign them.

We are publishing the memorandum in full, because it should be of especial interest to women at this time. For those who do not enjoy reading legally decorated paragraphs, we summarize the objection as follows:

"No woman has ever yet been an Assistant Judge in this State, therefore, it is questionable whether any woman ever ought to be."

"The creation of an assistant or associate justice is an incongruity unknown to our system of jurisprudence, especially in courts having criminal or quasi-criminal jurisdiction. This bill contemplates that in important cases the sitting justice who renders the decision would not see the person upon whom he passes judgment. It is doubtful whether this can be done without violating Constitutional safeguards. It is equally doubtful whether, under the provisions of the judiciary article of the Constitution, the creation of an assistant or associate justice with such powers as are specified in the act is permissible.

It is also very doubtful whether under the present Constitution a woman is eligible to appointment to such an office. Article I., Section 16, of the Constitution declares, that such parts of the common law as were in force on April 20, 1777, which have not since expired or been repealed or altered, shall be and continue the law of this State, subject to such alterations as the Legislature shall make concerning the same, but all such parts of the common law as are repugnant to the Constitution are abrogated.

At common law no woman, married or unmarried, under the decree of a Queen, could take part in the government of the State. Women could not sit in the House of Commons, or in the House of Lords; nor vote for members of Parliament. They could not take part in the administration of justice, either as judges or as jurors, except in a single class of cases, which it is not material to consider. They were not admitted to practice as attorneys, solicitors, or barristers, thereby becoming officers of the court. Robinson's Case, 131 Mass., 376; Countess of Rutland's Case, 6 Rep., 52b; Chorlton v. Lings, L. R. 4 C. P., 374, 391, 393; 3 Bl. Com., 362; 4 Bl. Com., 395.

It has accordingly been held in Massachusetts that a woman cannot lawfully be appointed justice of the peace, or even a notary public, 107 Mass., 604; 150 Mass., 586; 165 Mass., 599.

In some States it has been held that even the Legislature cannot make women eligible for the office of notary public. Matter of House Bill 166, 9 Col., 628; Opinion of Justices, 166 Mass., 599; State v. Adams, 58 Ohio St. 612.

In other States it has been held, however, that the Legislature may authorize the appointment of women to such minor offices as notaries public, school trustees or superintendents of schools, or to offices clerical in their nature. Even in cases where the Legislature has undertaken to act, it has been decided that statutes authorizing the eligibility of women to office will not be liberally construed. Matter of Bradwell, 35 Ill., 535; Atchison v. Lucas, 83 Ky., 451; Opinion Justices, 73 N. H., 621; State v. Davidson, 92 Tenn., 531.

In has been uniformly held in this country, that in the absence of a statute permitting it, a woman is not entitled to practice law. Wherever women have been admitted to the profession, it has been as a result of affirmative legislation. The subject has been admirably discussed in Oren v. Abbott, 47 L. R. A., 92, where it was held that a woman could not be elected prosecuting attorney under a statute which provides that such officers shall be chosen by the electors, there being no express provision conferring on women the right to hold the office. The decisions bearing on the subject are carefully collated in the opinions of Justices Long and Hooker.

WOMEN LAWYERS

AMY WREN

THE admission of women to the bar in the United States is of comparatively recent date.

The first woman applying was Mrs. Myra Bradwell, who asked for admission in the State of Illinois in 1868. She was refused on the ground that, being a married woman, she could not make a valid contract, any more than an infant in arms, and that her clients could not hold her to strict accountability because of that fact. We have progressed far since then. She again applied the next year (55 Ill., 535), and was again refused, the court holding that, even though the statute read "citizen," it was never in the contemplation of the Legislature that a woman would apply for admission, and, therefore, the statute did not apply to her. She appealed to the Supreme Court of the United States (Bradwell vs. Ill., 16 Wall.), which held that God had designed the sexes to occupy different spheres of action, and while they felt sorry for women who had to work, still they could not expect to enter every calling, and so denied her application. It is wonderful how the courts know the exact intentions of the Almighty as regards women.

In Iowa, however, in 1869, A. A. Mansfield was admitted to the bar without an enabling statute (Chicago Legal News, Feb. 5, 1870), and in Missouri, in 1870, a Miss Barkalow was admitted (Ch. Leg. News, Apr. 3, 1870). In Michigan, women were admitted prior to 1875, under an old statute which used the word "citizen."

In 1875, Lavinia Goodell applied to be admitted to the bar in Wisconsin (39 Wis., 232). The court said, among other things, "This is the first application for the admission of a female to the bar of this court. And it is just matter for congratulation that it is made in favor of a lady whose character raises no personal objection; something perhaps not always to be looked for in women who forsake the ways of their sex for the ways of ours. We find no statutory authority, and we cannot regret that we do not. We cannot but think the common law wise in excluding women from the profession of law. The cruel chances of life sometimes baffle both sexes, and may leave women free from the peculiar duties of their sex. These may need employment, and should be welcome to any not derogatory to their sex and its proprieties, or inconsistent with the good order of society. But it is public policy not to tempt women from the proper duties of their sex by opening to them duties peculiar to ours. If, as counsel threatens, these things are to come, we will take no voluntary part in bringing them about."

In the course of the opinion, the court cited cases, every one of which involved an offense against an innocent and good woman or child, and stated that no true woman would care to be present as a lawyer at such trials. An unfeeling Legislature, not agreeing with the court, passed an ennobling statute next year.

IN 1873 Belva Lockwood applied to the United States Court of Claims for admission (9 Ct. of Claims, 346, 356), and in 1876 she applied to the United States Supreme Court. She was not admitted. But the Act of Congress of February 15, 1879, was passed, permitting women to be admitted, and she was. She is still living in Washington.

In Colorado it was decided that a woman could not be a notary public without a constitutional amendment (Matter of House Bill 166, 9 Col. 628), although shortly thereafter, in 1891, a woman named Thomas was admitted to the bar (Re Thomas, 16 Col. 441), and this, too, without a statutory enactment. Luckily, the women obtained the ballot there, so it became unnecessary to amend the constitution.

In Massachusetts, in 1881, Lelia J. Robinson applied for admission to the bar and was refused. The Constitution provided that a "citizen" or an alien who had

(*Continued on Page* 26.)

A CANVASSING NIGHT'S ENTERTAINMENT

EDITH LAWSON

PRINCE FLORIZEL might have found many equivalents for the young man who offered him cream tarts had he been out on suffrage canvassing nights, for there are as interesting glimpses of life to be found in New York as there were in the New Arabian Nights.

The last rainy night on which we canvassed in the Twenty-fifth Assembly District was typical. Our first call found us in the courtyard of a rear tenement, and there, chopping wood as vigorously as weak and aged arms would permit, was a gray-haired colored woman—the kind you at once think of as Aunt Dinah or Aunt Clemmy, and that you envisage with a bandanna in some comfortable corner of the warm South. She stopped to answer our questions and when we asked her how she felt on suffrage, she said:

"Well, Missy, I never has time to think. I has three chillen whose folks just went off and left them, and I'm trying to bring them up decent. I suttenly thinks folks ought to take care of their own chilun, don't you, and not leave them to others?—but here they is and I must look out for them. I'm sure women ought to have something to say, but I ain't got no time to think"—and with a weary gesture, she went back to chopping, the fine mist falling on her bent shoulders and grizzled hair.

Another old colored woman, whose mistress we had asked for money for suffrage, heard our request and came to us as we were leaving, saying:

"I'se sorry, ladies, I'se too old to help, but I suttenly wish you luck. Here is 10 cents. It is all I can give, but my heart is with you. Perhaps, when you get the vote, you'll be able to do something to help my race."

The hope of America and its aspiration lies in the answer of the man we asked to sign:

"My mother—she was too ignorant to vote," he said. "My wife, she does not know enough—but my daughters; yes, my daughters, perhaps they will like to vote. I will sign."

Quite different was the tone of the next man we called on. In response to his "Come in," after our knock, we found him sitting on a bed entirely wrapped in thought and Turkish towels. He muttered something unintelligible to our first question, as to his opinion on suffrage, and when we repeated it, he called out in the voice of badgered impatience, and as if we were the culminating last straws: "Oh, for God's sake, go away." And we went, rapidly.

Through the open door of a rear room of a saloon we saw a woman sitting at a table, one empty whiskey glass before her, and one half filled. Every now and then she took a surreptitious bite of a banana from behind a newspaper. She looked so dejected and forlorn that we went in to see if we could not help her. Fearing what our thoughts might be, she at once said:

"Oh, ladies, I'm not what you think I am. I'm not a drinking woman. But I was turned out of the only place I had to stay, today, because I had no money—and although I was really hungry, I came in here because I was so wretched and so weak that I felt I couldn't stand it any longer if I wasn't cheered up. I hoped the bar tender would bring me some crackers with the whiskey, but he didn't, and I didn't like to ask him for fear he'd think me cheap, and so I'm eating this banana when he doesn't see me."

When we told her we would give her anything she wanted to eat, she came with us, with pathetic eagerness—leaving untouched the rest of her whiskey; and when she was seated in a clean, little Sixth Avenue restaurant, to our astonishment, she ordered and ate soft boiled eggs and toast and tea! I do not know why we should have been so surprised at her choice of toast and tea, for, after all, it has been the comfort and solace of thousands, from the aesthetic advocates of the tea ceremony, down to the humblest in the ranks.

Many pleas have been made for suffrage canvassers for the sake of suffrage. Suffrage does need the help of all, but another reason for this work can be urged. And that is, to do it, not only for the inspiration that comes from working shoulder to shoulder with other women, but because this is a very great opportunity to get in touch with life, to see all phases and conditions; from the ugly and the sordid, the mean and miserable (which you have patience with, because you know that with education, opportunity and the removal of injustices, these things will be changed) to the beautiful, the generous, the noble, which often bring a glow to your heart and tears to your eyes, and a renewed belief in human possibilities.

"Posies for every taste." So it is with suffrage canvassing. There is something to interest all types of minds. And it is for those who have perception and skill, to transmute through the alchemy of their minds these glimpses of life into shining gold for the many, who can only, in this way, get new visions and points of view.

A RESERVOIR OF FEMININE ENERGY

Dean Virginia Gildersleeve, of Barnard, is the first woman to deliver an address before the Columbia Chapter of the Phi Beta Kappa. On Decoration Day this year she made the annual speech. Her topic was, "Some Guides for Feminine Energy," and she told the chapter that an "immensely complex task has been given to the women of this generation." "On the whole," she added, "we are doing it well."

The rapid social and economic changes of the past fifty years have given women a chance to store up "a vast reservoir of unused feminine energy." The problem of directing into new channels this immense supply of energy has been thrust suddenly upon women," says the Dean of Barnard. Labor-saving devices, specialization, the postponement of marriage have all done something to change woman's position in life. "A wife is far less necessary to a husband than she was in the past. A husband is both economically and socially far less necessary to a woman. Work connected with husband and children will continue to occupy some women all of the time, and most women some of the time. Also there will still remain the intelligent, energetic girl who cannot endure an idle, futile existence as a social parasite, however pampered and petted she may be."

WHAT DIFFERENCE?

The seven-year-old grandson of William Lloyd Garrison, as author of the following composition, shows that he has inherited a belief in equal rights from his distinguished ancestor:

"God made us the same and to all have the same rites.

"It was not the woman's falt that they were born that way, nor it was not the blacks falt that they were born that way.

"What difference would there be iff woman dresed as men did, did as men did, and called them sellves men? None.

"Therefor the woman should shear equal rite to vote."

ARE WOMEN PEOPLE?

These quotations are from Alice Duer Miller's new book of suffrage verses and timely paragraphs. Suffragists are said to be lacking in humor. Read "Are Women People?" and see if this is true.

INTRODUCTION

Father, what is a Legislature?

A representative body, elected by the people of the State.

Are women people?

No, my son, criminals, lunatics and women are not people.

Do legislators legislate for nothing?

Oh, no; they are paid a salary.

By whom?

By the people.

Are women people?

Of course, my son, just as much as men are.

THE NEW FREEDOM

"The Michigan commission on industrial relations has discovered," says The Detroit Journal, "that thousands of wives support their husbands."

Woman's place is the home, but under a special privilege she is sometimes allowed to send her wages as a substitute.

PARTNERS

"Our laws have not yet reached the point of holding that property which is the result of the husband's earnings and the wife's savings becomes their joint property. . . . In this most important of all partnerships there is no partnership property."

Recent Decision of New York Supreme Court

Lady, lovely lady, come and share
All my care;
Oh, how gladly I will hurry
To confide my every worry,
(And they're very dark and drear)
In your ear.

Lady, share the praise I obtain,
Now and again;
Though I'm shy, it doesn't matter,
I will tell you how they flatter:
Every compliment I'll share,
Fair and square.

Lady, I my toil will divide
At your side;
I outside our home, you within;
You shall wash and cook and spin,
I'll provide the flax and food,
If you're good.

Partners, lady, we shall be,
You and me;
Partners in the highest sense,
Looking for no recompense,
For, the savings that we make,
I shall take.

ADVERTISING SUFFRAGE

SUFFRAGE POSTERS

SUFFRAGE bill-boards, calling on voters to support the woman suffrage amendment, have been placed in every city and in hundreds of towns in the State of New York. Rochester, Buffalo, Albany, Syracuse, Auburn, Binghamton, Elmira, Poughkeepsie, Utica, and their suburbs show flaming yellow reminders that the greatest election of a generation is scheduled for this Fall. Commuters, glancing up as they turn their papers, may pause to gather in the significance of this new rival of the Coca-Cola girl and the Gold Dust Twins. And as the train slows down for Mt. Vernon, White Plains, Tarrytown, Dobb's Ferry, Middletown, New Rochelle, Long Island City, and a score of other places equally well known to tired business men, there it is again, with its fresh paint as yet undimmed by stormy weather.

The poster on the boards is by Anne Merriam Peck and is one of those submitted in the Empire State Campaign Committee's poster contest. It shows a young woman with a trumpet in black and white on a yellow ground, and carries in bold, black letters, the simple reminder, "Vote for the Woman Suffrage Amendment, November 2nd, 1915."

The Vote-With-You Girl will appear in fifty of the New York theatres this summer. She is on a poster, and with a Hashimura-Togo-I-ask-to-know expression, she turns to her male escort with this poser:

"You ask us to walk with you,
Dance with you, marry you,
Why don't you ask us to Vote with you?"

The poster was drawn by Ethel Plummer, for the Publicity Council of the Empire State Campaign Committee, and will be used in the theatre lobbies and on bill-boards throughout the city.

HOPPING FOR SUFFRAGE

"RIGHT this way, ladies and gentlemen! Hops for women! Everybody hops! Here's where you hop for Victory in 1915! Suffrage served while you hop! Only five cents, a nickle, half a dime!"

The suffragists have hopped into Luna Park with an attraction all their own. Cover the United States in 48 hops, but don't step on the suffrage States. New York, at the top of the tortuous incline, is the goal. There stands Victory 1915, in a white dress and a yellow sash. If you can make the ascent on one foot, you will be rewarded with a souvenir box of Votes for Women Caramels.

The Suffrage Hopperie is being erected by the Equal Suffrage Publicity Corporation, of which Mrs. Norman deR. Whitehouse is president, Ethel Lloyd Patterson, vice-president.

On the incline there are squares representing every State in the Union, and each is plainly marked as to whether it is a suffrage or a near-suffrage State, so that the effect is a first aid to suffrage geography. Ethel Watts Mumford has written some limericks for the opening, about July 1st. Here is one:

"With a hop and a jump on one leg—
It's harder than Mumble-de-peg!
Come play with the suffs,
You'll find they aren't bluffs,
Jump with us, not on us, we beg!"

Another reads—

"It's a grand little leg that we stand on,
It's a fine little floor we look grand on,
Be gay and be agile—
If you fall, don't be fragile—
And hop with a graceful abandon."

The barkers will be well-known suffrage workers.

THE WOMAN SUFFRAGE PARTY

Adaline W. Sterling

FOURTH OF JULY CELEBRATION

A MOVING appeal for liberty from the women of New York to the men of New York will feature in the suffrage Fourth of July celebration which is being arranged by the Publicity Council of the Empire State Campaign Committee. The appeal has been written by Carrie Chapman Catt and Charlotte Perkins Gilman.

One hundred city officials, as guests of honor, are expected on board the two sightseeing yachts which will leave the Battery at six o'clock on the evening of July fifth. The yachts will steam down to Bedloe's Island. and here, at the foot of the Goddess of Liberty, the women's appeal for liberty will be read by a well known actress. With this auspicious beginning, the suffragists will again board the yachts and the appeal will move up the river to the dock at 130th Street. Here the suffragists will disembark and proceed to Claremont Hill, where the appeal will again be read. At this point there will be a massed demonstration and a band playing patriotic airs. A famous singer will sing the Star Spangled Banner. Mrs. Catt and one of the city officials will speak. It is expected that the delegation will reach Claremont Hill at about 8.30. Dinner will be served to the guests of honor on board the yachts.

From Claremont Hill the appeal will move down Riverside Drive, borne on a decorated motor truck and guarded by ten living "Goddesses of Liberty." It will be convoyed by 1,500 women gowned in white Greek draperies and carrying lanterns. Stops will be made at various places along the Drive, where the appeal will again be read and speeches will be made. The last stop will be made at about eleven o'clock at Columbus Circle.

PROPHETIC INTUITION

AS it could not possibly be foresight, it must have n prophetic intuition which caused those worthy officials two hundred and fifty years ago to show a preference for the colors, blue, white and orange. The new city flag formally adopted on June 24th, the 250th anniversary of the appointment of the first mayor and board of aldermen of the City of New York, is the tri-color of the Empire State Campaign Committee. From every public building on festal occasions, from City Hall and Borough Halls, the blue, white and orange will float on the breeze. Surely a happy omen and an index of coming victory.

THE BRONX ON PARADE

LIKE milestones, special events mark onward progress in Bronx suffrage history—the first big theatre hearing at Keith's, the first suffrage edition of the "North Side News," and, the middle of the past month the tallest and whitest milestone of all, the first suffrage parade!

It was Borough Day, every Bronxite of high and low degree was celebrating as member of some organization, or was jubilating by himself on general principles. Thousands and thousands of people were abroad on pleasure and rejoicing bent, it was our opportunity, and we seized the passing guest and transformed it into an outward and visible sign that there was something doing in suffrage.

Led by Mrs. Burke in her "scout" car our parade made the Bronx take notice. In actual numbers the women turned out over two hundred strong, in potential influence they were two hundred times two hundred. Instead of mounted policemen, a group of horsewomen, handsome and well set up, followed the saucy scout car. Then came fifteen decorated automobiles, resplendent

THE BRONX PARADE

with yellow pennants, yellow bunting, the Stars and Stripes and the new city flag. The occupants of the cars carried out the color scheme in sashes and hat bands. The marchers came next the Borough banner heading the division, with the marshals, Mrs. Palmer, Miss Collins, Miss Richardson, directly behind. The enfranchised States were represented by women dressed in white and bearing shields inscribed with the names of the commonwealths where political equality rules. Then followed a white clad figure representing New York with her shield which does not yet bear the legend "Equality." Marchers with suffrage umbrellas and suffrage maps, marchers bearing streamers with suffrage propaganda so that he who looked on might read, and just marchers filed along until a beautifully decorated float closed the procession.

Spectators were generous with applause, and encouraging remarks greeted the suffragists. One old taxpayer remarked to the Borough leader, "I tell you, Mrs. Seely, you are putting Bronx on the map." No higher compliment could have been proffered when one remembers that the average Bronxite thinks Manhattan is a small region lying to the south. It was fine, the compliment and the parade, and finer still was the impression received that when November comes the Bronx will be there with the right kind of vote.

A DARING RESCUE

THE Fiftieth Anniversary Parade of the New York Fire Department on June 12th was the scene of an event unparalleled in the history of fire rescues. The incident is best described in the inspired words of Oreola Haskell, who thus relates what happened at the burning of a (temporary) wooden structure on Riverside Drive:

"The fire had gained possession of the four stories of a wooden building and the lady had taken refuge on the roof, cut off by flames and smoke. Having despaired of escape she was preparing to meet her fate and had pinned across her breast the cherished yellow 'Votes for Women' sash. But for the miraculous rescue by Fireman Petersen she would have perished, valiantly displaying to the end the colors of her Cause.

"Instantly grasping the situation, Fireman Petersen ascended the aerial ladder and with marvelous coolness and efficiency and in the incredibly short time of 80 seconds bore the Suffrage Lady to the street. The rescued woman disappeared, but it has since been ascertained that she is Mrs. Mulligan, wife of the well known Patsy Mulligan, who has long been attached to the Department School for Recruits and has contributed his services gratuitously in all hazardous rescues by the recruits. This is the first time in the history of the Department that Mr. Mulligan has failed to appear and it is understood that Mrs. Mulligan has succeeded him in all public appearances in his thrilling vocation.

"Although the chance to make this thrilling rescue fell only to Fireman Petersen, a similar opportunity to perform an equally gallant act will soon come to every Fireman in the State when each man may aid in rescuing all women of New York from their present helpless condition of political disfranchisement by voting for the Woman Suffrage Amendment, November 2, 1915."

Later Mrs. James Lees Laidlaw, Borough Chairman, Mrs. James Gear, leader of the 18th Assembly District, with a delegation of suffragists, visited the School of Recruits, East 68th Street, and presented Fireman Petersen with ten dollars in gold in recognition of his skill in scaling the ladder and rescuing what might just as well have been a real woman as a dummy.

IT HAPPENED IN RICHMOND

"SUFFRAGE, like the curfew, must not ring to-night and every night," decided the Opposing Element last month. So a lawn party was arranged to silence the objectionable bell. Curfew not being Hibernian, though Margaret Hinchey had been on Staten Island, took no exception to daylight proceedings.

So last month to the spacious lawn of Mrs. Prestonia Mann Martin "the homekeepers" were bidden to a mass meeting. Thirty-three women, a suffragist or two among them, and four men *massed*. Though the subject promised warmth, the breezes provided actual chill, and the mass gladly accepted the invitation to go indoors. Miss Alice Hill Chittenden was the speaker and presented some views. Those who have been privileged to hear Miss Chittenden had no difficulty in following those views, they were familiar—"present adequate representation of women, inability of women to grasp public questions, beneficent laws, indirect influence, and 'the deep biological reason'," so deep and profound that it has never yet been disclosed.

It was easy going in her own bailiwick, and Miss Chittenden had a free field. But when she made some statements about suffragists which betrayed lack of intimate acquaintance with both suffrage and its advocates, she was confronted by the smiling eyes of a district captain. The speaker hesitated and hastily and lamely changed the subject, bringing her address to an unexpected termination.

One of the four representatives of chivalry, rather feeble of physique, roused from contemplation or slumber and offered the only remark from the floor, he feared "the vote would unsex the ladies." And then the mass disintegrated into its component parts and went home.

TEACHERS TO THE FRONT

HUNDREDS of New York City school teachers have planned to spend their vacations up State this summer and devote themselves to suffrage propaganda. Up-State counties will furnish automobiles, "one horse shays," bicycles and the like to carry these new missionaries to where the fields are white for the harvest. Others will go to summer resorts and turn hotel and boarding house piazzas from the usual resort of idle gossipers into live tabernacles where the gospel of equal suffrage will be preached in measure to suit all needs.

SUFFRAGE GARDENS

SPEAKING of the country reminds us that now is the right time to plant seeds for blossoms in September and October, to be used in the Campaign. The Pennsylvania Association sold out all their seeds, and seeds producing yellow flowers are hard to get. Packets can still be obtained at the Headquarters of the Yonkers Suffrage League, 67 South Broadway, Yonkers, at the low rate of 2 cents a package. They have yellow calendulas, yellow zinnias, yellow calliopses and marigolds, and an especially choice silver sunflower. Enclose postage.

RECEPTIONS

MAY and early June are convention days in New York, and the Party has been happy to extend small courtesies to some of our sister organizations in council assembled. On May 27th a squad of suffragists with yellow banners escorted delegates to the convention of the Ladies of the Maccabees of the World from the Waldorf to Headquarters, where tea was served.

On June 8th the officers and delegates of the Women's Trades Union were tendered a reception at Headquarters, which was largely attended. Speeches were made by Mrs. Raymond Robins and Miss Mary Dreier.

THE FRENCH COMMITTEE

THIS committee was born on St. Patrick's Day, which circumstance has not affected its nationality. The reception room at Headquarters has taken on somewhat the aspect of a French salon on the meeting days of the committee. Positively no English is spoken and that proves no hindrance as the buzz of conversation proves. The committee has held three large public meetings, the French churches have all been visited, and the clergymen interviewed. The Courier des Etas Unis has given space to notices but has not yet endorsed the movement. Ninety-seven enrollments have been taken, and $70 have been raised, $30 of which have been paid to the Empire State Campaign Committee on pledge made at the luncheon, May 8th. A new French leaflet is ready for distribution, also a booklet written by M. Jules Bois, remarkable for its clear insight into suffrage ideals.

AT THE STADIUM

AS the audience left the Stadium of the College of the City of New York on May 31st saturated with the Greek spirit after witnessing Granville Barker's production of "Iphigenia in Aulis," they found at the entrance the inevitable yellow trimmed automobile and Mr. Walter Randolph ready to bring them back to the issues of the present day in a logical suffrage speech. In like manner the audience who had followed the woes of "Trojan Women" on the succeeding Wednesday found at the entrance a group of New York women, comprising Mrs. Norman de R. Whitehouse, Miss Alice Carpenter, Miss Vida Sutton and Dr. Desire M. Dunn waiting to show what the ballot could and would do for many wrongs not known in classic days.

City Committee Meeting
July 12th, 10.30 A. M.
48 East 34th Street

Every District and every Committee *must* be represented.

DUTY CALL

THE preceding notice has the ring of command from one whom we are happy to obey and glad to serve. Our chairman made a short trip across the continent last month, one of those trips for rest where she works all the time, and comes back refreshed to set the rest of us going. We are glad Miss Hay had the outing and we are doubly glad to welcome her home, for headquarters is a lonesome spot when the Chief is away. The meeting announced above is one of great importance. There are plans to be discussed, lines of attack and persuasion—verbal—to be laid out and many more things too numerous to mention.

Perhaps a leader or a borough officer may some time, when a little weary, wish she belonged to the Guidon Club and had nothing else to do except to count the suffragists who flock into the house across the way. That is mere temporary weakness of the flesh, the bugle call has sounded and every district and every committee will be represented on July 12th.

FROM THE ASSEMBLY DISTRICTS

Record of Activities, May 20th to June 20th.

MANHATTAN

2ND ASSEMBLY DISTRICT

CANVASSING in river slips, Peek Slip, Old Slip, etc. Italian street meeting, Oak and Oliver Streets, speaker, Mr. Canudo. Noon street meetings, along the river front, South and Wall Streets, Old Slip and South Street.

3RD ASSEMBLY DISTRICT

DISTRIBUTION of literature and "Remember, November" cards to construction workers on the Elevated Railroad, Bowery. Street meeting with Italian speaker on Mulberry Street, north of Mulberry Bend Park. Canvassing among the foreign born voters.

4TH ASSEMBLY DISTRICT

CANVASSING along the river front. Noon street meetings. Organization meeting of the Suffrage Forum Club.

7TH ASSEMBLY DISTRICT

CAPTAIN'S meeting. Street meetings and canvassing.

8TH ASSEMBLY DISTRICT

MEETING of the Guild Suffrage Club at 184 Eldridge Street. Meeting of the Guild Suffrage Club, 55 Delancey Street, speakers, Mrs. Petluck, Mrs. Rosen and Mrs. Levine.

9TH ASSEMBLY DISTRICT

CANVASSING every evening, three canvassers have visited 2,500 voters. Meeting before the local political clubs; Republican, speakers, Mrs. John Zimmerman and Miss B. Cecil Howard; Democratic, Mrs. John Zimmerman and Miss Mary Fisher.

10TH ASSEMBLY DISTRICT

STREET meetings at Tompkins Square, speeches in Polish, Jewish and Hungarian, distribution of literature in the same languages.

11TH ASSEMBLY DISTRICT

REGULAR canvassing bees, starting from the home of the leader, Mrs. William H. Wilson.

12TH ASSEMBLY DISTRICT

CANVASSING bees, Tuesday evening, June 1st, and Monday evenings, June 7th and 14th, followed by supper, at the residences, respectively, of Mrs. Robert Brace, vice-leader, Mrs. Lawton and Mrs. Florence Howe Hall, leader. Similar canvassing bees have been held weekly since March 23d. Five street meetings, beginning June 2d, addressed by the leader, Miss Hinchey, Miss Klatschken, Miss Wheeler, Mrs. Goode, Mrs. Guilford, Messrs. James A. Foley and Hiram M. Kirke, members of the Constitutional Convention, interviewed. Regular monthly meetings at Friends' Seminary.

15TH ASSEMBLY DISTRICT

A SERIES of canvassing bees, followed by afternoon tea as follows: June 3d, Miss Frances Peters, hostess, 146 W. 82d Street; Mrs. J. W. Mitchell, Hotel Belleclaire; at the home of Miss Amy H. Lewis, 102 W. 75th Street, June 8th; on the 10th by Mrs. H. W. Hedden, 315 W. 71st Street, and June 19th at the Hotel Willard, Miss E. M. Hooper, hostess. District meeting on June 14th at the home of the leader.

17TH ASSEMBLY DISTRICT

REGULAR street meetings at 96th Street and Broadway, the leader, Mrs. William J. Morton, presiding. Monday, "at home" to captains, workers and district members, at the residence of the leader.

18TH ASSEBLY DISTRICT

CANVASSING party with supper, every Thursday evening at 9 o'clock, at 300 East 68th Street. Float in the Bohemian Parade on Memorial Day to Schutzen Park, Astoria, accompanied by the Suffrage Club of the district. Open air meeting in Schutzen Park. Indoor mass meeting in May at the Progressive Club, addressed by Miss Louise Grant and Mrs. Anna Ross

Weeks. Street meetings, Friday evenings at 72d Street and 1st Avenue, Wednesday evenings, at Queensboro Bridge, 65th Street and 1st Avenue. Presentation of reward to the fireman who reseued the Votes for Women dummy at the Fireman's Parade.

19TH ASSEMBLY DISTRICT

REGULAR Monday evening street meetings at 110th Street and Broadway. Largely attended meeting at 8th Avenue and 116th Street. Captain's meeting at district headquarters, 316 W. 108th Street.

23RD ASSEMBLY DISTRICT

SIX street meetings, public meeting of the Men's League every Friday evening. Canvassing every Monday, Wednesday and Friday, starting at 7.45 P. M. from 456 W. 149th Street. Speaking before the Mothers' Club of Inwood. Conference of leaders and workers of the lower seetion of the district. Successful garden party and strawberry festival under the auspices of the Study Club. Participation by Party of the district in the parade eelebrating the opening of the Englewood-Dyckman Ferry on invitation of the loeal Business Men's Association.

25TH ASSEMBLY DISTRICT

SCHOOL for watchers at the polls under the joint auspices of the 12th and 25th districts at the Washington Irving High School on May 25th. Meetings of the advisory board of the district at the home of the leader. Division of the district into four sections for street meetings under the campaign chairmanship of Miss Grace Loomis, Miss Goller, Mrs. Ella Pomeroy, Mrs. Clara Glover.

26TH ASSEMBLY DISTRICT

CAPTAINS' meeting on June 16th to plan better district organization, appointment of a publicity committee, with Miss Anna Katz as chairman, also a committee on finance under the direetion of Miss Bertha Sandberg. Canvassing regularly and systematically earried on.

28TH ASSEMBLY DISTRICT

CANVASSING every evening, starting from the leader's home, 233 E. 109th Street. Work in the Italian section earried on suceessfully by Mrs. Mondelli, and in the Jewish seetion by Miss Sher.

31ST ASSEMBLY DISTRICT

SEVEN canvassing bees in the month of June, starting respectively from the homes of Mrs. Lillian Barkley, Miss F. Trigge and Mrs. E. R. Wiesberg. Captains' meetings at the residenees of Miss Rebecca Serber and of Mrs. Wiesberg. Street meeting at 116th Street and 7th Avenue, and at 21 W. 119th Street, speaker, Mrs. von Zastrow. Most efficient work has been performed during the month by Misses Rebecca Serber, Ida Cohen, Pearl Meltsner and Mrs. Lillian Barkley.

BROOKLYN

3RD ASSEMBLY DISTRICT

SYSTEMATIC work in canvassing is going on in the district. Two eleetion districts in the 10th have been eompletely canvassed, and the same report will apply to the 8th in a very short time. Factory meetings have been held twice a week and sometimes oftener, with Miss Hinchey and Mrs. Reinhart as speakers. Street meetings are held in every eleetion district. Influential politicians in the district receive monthly a copy of "The Voter."

9TH ASSEMBLY DISTRICT

LUNCHEON given by the Bay Ridge Suffrage Club on May 25th with an attendance of one hundred, Mrs. C. W. Gilson, president of the club, chairman, speaker, Mrs. Anna Ross Weeks. School for watchers at the polls at the South Braneh Public Library, Miss Alice P. Hutchins in charge. Meeting of the Sunset Suffrage Club at the home of the president, Mrs. H. M. Read, on June 7th. Speaker, Mrs. F. A. Drake. Meeting of the Bay Ridge Junior Suffrage League. Noonday meeting at the E. W. Bliss factory, addressed by Mrs. Julia Reinhart. Two other street meetings, and eanvassing throughout the month.

10TH ASSEMBLY DISTRICT

ENTERTAINMENT given by Mrs. D. W. Barker on the evening of June 1st at her home. Speaking by Mrs. Cranford, Mrs. Hutehins and Mrs. Haskell. Canvassing parties have been held at the homes of Mesdames Hutehins, Brockway, Bryan, Burnham and Orr. Great help has been given by the Messrs. Barsh, of Seattle, Washington, in telling how suffrage works in the West and in suggesting methods of canvassing. 11th Assembly District.

11TH ASSEMBLY DISTRICT

STREET meeting, May 25th, at the corner of Bedford and Greene Avenues, May 29th. The regular distriet meeting on May 24th at 202 Lefferts Plaee.

12TH ASSEMBLY DISTRICT

ADDRESS by Miss Eva Potter before the Men's Club of the Twelfth Street Dutch Reformed Church on May 11th. Meeting of the district club, June 7th, to plan street meetings. First street meeting of the season on June 16th at 5th Avenue and 16th Street, Miss Eva Potter, in eharge. Canvassing under way in fourteen eleetion distriets.

14TH ASSEMBLY DISTRICT

THE leader is personally eanvassing each day some part of the foreign sections of her district. Satisfactory work has been accomplished among the Italians. A visit is paid daily to some factory at the noon hour and literature distributed. Work is also being done among the street cleaners.

16TH ASSEMBLY DISTRICT

LIVE canvassing bees in Bath Beach under the direction of Mrs. A. W. Dennen. Suffrage talk by Miss Charlotte Cranford before the King's Highway Board of Trade on June 7th. On June 5th mass meeting in Public School No. 163 at which the speakers were Mrs. Beatriee F.-R. Hale and Mr. Louis H. Pink, Mrs. W. H. Gillespie, president of the Mothers' Club, chairman. Rummage sale from June 11-14 at Neck Road and Gravesend Avenue. Street meeting in Bath Beaeh.

20TH ASSEMBLY DISTRICT

STREET meeting, June 5th, at Lincoln and Bushwick Avenues.

QUEENS

GREAT activity all along the line. Meeting of the Corona Suffrage Club, speaker, Mrs. E. J. Whitaker. May 26th, Ridgewood Suffrage Club card party at which $20 was realized. Lawn party given by the Elmhurst Suffrage Club at the residence of Mrs. Marsden, on June 8th. Meeting at Public School No. 14, Corona, speaker, Mrs. J. E. Dowd; June 3d, meeting at School, No. 17, Astoria, addressed by Mrs. James L. Laidlaw and Mrs. Alfred J. Eno; meeting on June 10th, at School, No. 68, Ridgewood, speaker, Mrs. Dowd. Suffrage speeehes before the Homestead Civie Association by Mrs. Franeis Brewer; before the Royal Arcanum, Ridgewood; and before the Men's League of the Springfield Presbyterian Church by Mrs. Whitaker. Lawn parties with daneing at the home of Mrs. Stuart, June 16th, and at the home of Mrs. W. F. Williams on June 18th, speaker at both functions, Miss Aimee Hutehinson. Lawn party for the treasury of the 4th Assembly Distriet on June 5th at the residence of Mrs. Arthur Sinclair, Flushing, receipts, $125. Numerous street meetings at Jamaiea, Flushing, Ridgewood, Elmhurst and Long Island City. Flushing held its first open air meeting of the season on June 12th, with Miss Macdonald, Miss Flaughran, Mrs. Isaae Smith and Mrs. Sehwerin as speakers.

RICHMOND

TWICE a week during June noon hour meetings in different faetories held by Miss Katherine Mills. Flag Day celebration with a parade and speeehes in Port Riehmond. Speaking before the young women of the congregation at the Jewish Temple by Mrs. Brewer. Meeting in the chapel of St. Simon's Church, Concord, addressed by Mrs. Edwin Markham and Mrs. Willcox. Faetory meeting at Linoleumville on the 10th and a hike on the following Saturday. Street meetings at West New Brighton and Stapleton. Canvassing squads in the 14th and 37th eleetion districts. Automobile hike every Saturday evening to various places on the island.

WOMEN LAWYERS

(*Continued from Page* 19.)

declared his primary intention, could be admitted, but the court held that she was not a citizen within the meaning of the Constitution, even though it admitted aliens to practise law. The next year, 1882, the Legislature passed a law permitting women to be admitted to the bar and she was admitted.

In Massachusetts, also, in 1871, and again in 1889, the Legislature asked the opinion of the court as to the eligibility of women as notaries public. The court held that as a notary public is an officer named in the Constitution, a woman is not eligible. Two years ago an amendment to the Constitution to permit women to be notaries public was submitted to the voters in Massachusetts, and was defeated. And so we have the strange ruling in that State that a woman can be an attorney, but cannot be a notary.

In New Hampshire, the court ruled that a woman could be admitted to the bar, and that, too, without even an act of the Legislature, and in 1890, Marilla M. Ricker was admitted (66 N. H., 207); yet, the same court ruled thereafter (Opinion of Justices, 73 N. H., 621) that a woman could not be a notary public without a Constitutional amendment.

Apparently the courts have not as high an opinion of lawyers as of notaries public.

Mrs. Ricker's admission in New Hampshire was urged by Lelia J. Robinson, who had by that time been admitted in Massachusetts. Mrs. Ricker is still living, and is a member of the Women Lawers' Association. Miss Mary Hall, another member of the association, was admitted in Connecticut in 1882 (50 Conn., 131), under a statute which read citizen. Mrs. Antoinette D. Leach, another member, was admitted in Indiana in 1893, although the Constitution said, "Every person of good moral character, being a voter," etc., could be admitted (134 Ind., 667). Mrs. Leach is well known in New York.

In Pennsylvania, a woman named Kilgore applied to the Court of Common Pleas, a county court, for admission. She was refused, and kept on applying in different counties, until she finally was admitted by one in 1885.

In New York State, Miss Kate Stoneman applied for admission in 1885 (53 Am. Rep., 323). The Supreme Court at Albany, special term, held that she could not be admitted, as the statute read "male." The next year the Legislature amended the statute to enable women to be admitted, and she was admitted in May, 1886. Miss Stoneman was well known as a normal school teacher and worker for teachers' rights before the New York Legislature. She is still living at Albany, and is now quite elderly.

In 1885 there were forty-six women lawyers in the entire United States.

We may think that these adverse opinions of the court represent thought as it was a few years ago, and that that time is past. But only two years ago a woman applied in Georgia to be admitted to the bar, was refused, and then applied to the Legislature; and the Legislature, after spending an entire day's session in beautiful language, calling woman a princess, queen and angel, did not pass a bill enabling her to practise law. The Legislature of Georgia thought, just as the Supreme Court of the United States did, back in 1872, that queen as she was, angel as she was, if she had to work, let her scrub floors or wash clothes, but not think that she could practise law. The woman who applied in Georgia was Mrs. G. McIntire-Weaver. She moved to Berkeley Springs, W. Va., was admitted, and is a member of the Women Lawyers' Association.

In Scotland the statute reads "citizen," yet a woman was refused admission, although the entire class in Edinburgh University, as well as all the instructors, petitioned the court to admit her.

Two or three years ago, Lord Haldane, accompanied by his sister, visited the United States. He was at that time Lord Chancellor of England, the highest judicial position in England, "the Keeper of the King's Conscience," and the custodian of the Great Seal, with a seat in the Cabinet and a salary of $50,000 per year. His sister has her law degree from Edinburgh University. She cannot be admitted to the bar, because of sex.

And last month Mrs. Annie Langstaff, of Montreal, applied to Mr. Justice St. Pierre, of the Province of Quebec, Canada, to be permitted to take the preliminary examination required of students of law. On dismissing her petition, with costs, the learned justice said:

"I hold that to admit a woman, and more particularly a married woman, as a barrister, that is to say, as a person who pleads cases at the bar before judges or juries in open court and in the presence of the public, would be nothing short of a direct infringement upon public order and a manifest violation of the law of good morals and public decency." Yet, further along in the opinion, he speaks of her good morals, considerable ability and remarkable talents.

There are three States in the United States which do not admit women to the bar—Georgia, South Carolina, and Arkansas.

So, after all, women lawyers are well satisfied with New York State. We appreciate much more the chivalry of a man who extends to us a helping hand and permits us to earn an honorable living in a dignified profession, than the lip service of men who protest their utter regard for women, but permit them, if they have to earn a living, to do so at only menial tasks.

The Women Lawyers' Association, with members in most States of the Union, stands unanimously for Votes for Women. We know.

PRIZE CONTEST

A prize of ten dollars will be awarded for the best statement on any of the following topics for the "Woman Voter":

1. **The City Woman and the Ballot.**
2. **The Country Woman and the Ballot.**
3. **The Wage Earner and the Ballot.**
4. **The Professional Woman and the Ballot.**
5. **The Housekeeper and the Ballot.**
6. **Mothers and Votes.**
7. **The Twelve Free States.**
8. **Are Women People?**
9. **Woman Suffrage and Democracy.**
10. **November 2nd and Victory.**

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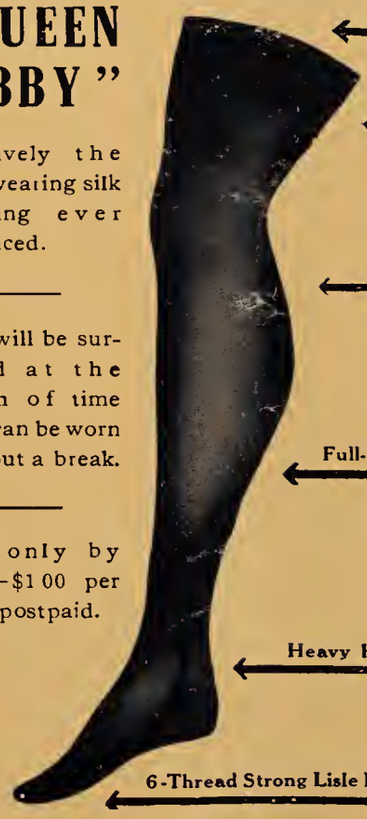

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